HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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HERALD OF FREEDOM.

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N. P. ROGERS, Editor.

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

Gerrit Smith to Henry Clay.

We cannot forbear to present our readers with a couple of extracts from the letter of Gerrit Smith to Mr. Clay. The headings are our own.—*Friend of Man.*

SOUTHERN PROFESSIONS.

Whilst on the subject of the "rights of property," I am reminded of your "third impediment to abolition." This "impediment" consists in the fact of the great value of the southern slaves—which, according to your estimation, is not less than "twelve hundred millions of dollars." I will adopt your estimate, and thus spare myself from going into the abhorrent calculation of the worth in dollars and cents of immortal man—of the "image of God." I thank you for your virtual admission that this wealth is grasped with a tenacity proportioned to its vast amount. Many of the wisest and best men of the north have been led into the belief that the slaveholders of the south are too humane and generous to hold their slaves for the sake of gain. Even Dr. Channing was a subject of this delusion; and it is well remembered, that his too favorable opinions of his fellow men made it difficult to disabuse him of it. Northern christians have been ready to believe that the south would give up her slaves, because of her conscious lack of title to them. But in what age of the world have impenitent men failed to cling as closely to that which they had obtained by fraud, as to their honest acquisitions? Indeed it is demonstrable on philosophical principles, that the more stupendous the fraud, the more tenacious is the hold upon that which is gotten by it. I trust that your admission to which I have just referred, will have no small effect to prevent the northern apologist for slavery from repeating the remark that the south would gladly liberate her slaves, if she saw any prospect of bettering the condition of the objects of her tender and solicitous benevolence. I trust too that this admission will go far to prove the emptiness of your declaration, that abolitionists "have thrown back for half a century the prospect of any species of emancipation of the African race, gradual or immediate in any of the states," and the emptiness of your declaration, that "prior to the agitation of this subject of abolition, there was a progressive melioration in the condition of slaves throughout all the slave states," and that "in some of them, schools of instruction were opened," &c.; and I further trust that this "melioration" and these "schools" were intended to prepare the slaves for freedom.—After what you have said of the great value of the slaves, and of the obstacle it presents to emancipation, you will meet with but little success in your endeavors to convince the world, that the south was preparing to give up the "twelve hundred millions of dollars," and that the naughty abolitionists have postponed her gratification "for half a century." If your views of the immense value of the slaves, and of the consequent opposition to their freedom be correct, then, the hatred of the south towards the abolitionists must be, not because their movements tend to lengthen, but because they tend to shorten the period of her possession of the "twelve hundred millions of dollars." May I ask you whether, whilst the south clings to these "twelve hundred millions of dollars," it is not somewhat hypocritical in her to be complaining that the abolitionists are fastening the "twelve hundred millions of dollars" to her? And may I ask you whether there is not a little inconsistency between your own lamentations over this work of the abolitionists, and your intimation that the south will never consent to give up her slaves until the impossibility of paying her "twelve hundred millions of dollars" for them shall have been accomplished? Puerile and insulting as is your proposition to raise "twelve hundred millions of dollars" for the purchase of the slaves, it is nevertheless instructive; inasmuch as it shows, that in your judgment, the south is as little willing to give up her slaves, as the abolitionists are able to pay "twelve hundred millions of dollars for them; and how unable the abolitionists are to pay a sum of money far greater than the whole amount of money in the world, I need not explain.

But if the south must have "twelve hundred millions of dollars" to induce her to liberate her present number of slaves, how can you expect success for your scheme of ridding her of several times the present number, "in the progress of some one hundred and fifty, or two hundred years"? Do you reply, that although she must have "four hundred dollars a-piece" for them, if she sell them to the abolitionists, she is, nevertheless, willing to let the colonization society have them without charge? There is abundant proof that she is not. During the twenty-two years of the existence of that society, not so many slaves have been emancipated and given to it for expatriation, as are born in a single week. As a proof that the sympathies of the south are all with the slaveholding and *real* character of this two-faced institution, and not at all with the abolition purposes and tendencies, which it professes at the north, none of its presidents, (and slaveholders only are deemed worthy to preside over it,) has ever contributed from his stock of slaves to swell those bands of emigrants, who, leaving our shores in the character of "nuisances," are instantly transformed, to use your own language, into "missionaries, carrying with them credentials in the holy cause of christianity, civilization and free institutions." But you were not in earnest, when you held up the idea in your recent speech, that the rapidly multiplying millions of our colored countrymen would be expatriated. What you said on that point was but to indulge in declamation, and to round off a paragraph. It is in that part of your speech where you say, that "no practical scheme for their removal or separation from us has yet been devised or proposed," that you exhibit your real sentiments on this subject, and impliedly admit the deceitfulness of the pretensions of the American Colonization Society.

* * * * *

NORTHERN ABOLITIONISTS.

Another charge against the abolitionists is implied in the inquiry you make, *whether since they do not "furnish in their own families or persons examples of intermarriage, they intend to contaminate the industrious and laborious classes of society of the north by a revolting admixture of the black element."*

This inquiry shows how difficult it is for southern minds, accustomed as they have ever been to identify labor with slavery, to conceive the true character and position of such "classes" at the north; and also how ignorant they are of the composition of our anti-slavery societies. To correct your misapprehensions on these points, I will briefly say, in the first place, that the laborers of the north are freemen and not slaves; that they marry whom they please, and are neither paired nor unpaired to suit the interests of the breeder, or seller, or buyer of human stock:—and, in the second place, that the abolitionists instead of being a body of persons distinct from the "industrious and laboring classes," do, more than nineteen-twentieths of them belong to those "classes." You have fallen into a great error in supposing, that abolitionists generally belong to the wealthy and aristocratic classes. This, to a great extent is true of anti-abolitionists. Have you ever heard the boast that there have been anti-abolition mobs, which consisted of "gentlemen of property and standing"?

You charge upon abolitionists "*the purpose to create a pinching competition between black labor and white labor: and add that "on the supposition of abolition, the black class, migrating into the free States, would enter into competition with the white class, diminishing the wages of their labor.*"

In making this charge, as well as in making that which immediately precedes it, you have fallen into the error that abolitionists do not belong to "the industrious and laborious classes." In point of fact the abolitionists belong so generally to these classes, that if your charge be true, they must have the strange "purpose" of "pinching" themselves.

Whether "the black class" would, or would not migrate, I am much more pleased to have you say what you do on this point, though it be at the expense of your consistency, than to have you say as you do in another part of your speech, that abolition "would end in the extermination or subjugation of the one race or the other."

Our National Weakness.

The following article, from that influential paper, the Liverpool Mercury, shows how intelligent statesmen abroad view the present condition of our republic, in a political point of view, and ought to convince our American leaders, that our continued enjoyment of peace depends solely on the will of other nations. The extract from the work of Dr. Julius, we believe, is new in this country, and the high character of the writer will give weight to his suggestions. *Ibid.*

"The project of arming the negro population in the American slave States has often been mooted; but, notwithstanding the recognised maxim that 'every thing is fair in war,' it has never been seriously attempted, for reasons, some of which no longer operate to restrain the British Government, in the event of hostilities, from making the awful experiment.

"Dr. Julius, of Hamburgh, a well known literary man and distinguished foreign traveller, in his recent work on the moral state of the American people, '*Nord America Sittliche Zustand,*' touches upon this tender ground. In his opinion the existence of a numerous slave population must not only threaten the interior tranquility of the Union, but prove a source of imminent peril in the event of war.

"'Dr. Julius refers to a statement by a recent English writer on the colonies (Mr. Napier) to this effect,—that during the war of 1813 a plan had been laid before the British Government, instead of the useless "predatory diversions" along the coast, to land, on the peninsula between Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware, a body of British troops, along with a number of officers, sergeants, and privates of the colored West-Indian regiments, the latter to be placed at the head of the blacks, who would eagerly have responded to the call of liberty, and war to their oppressors. Thus, in the centre of the Union, a body of 200,000 men would have been organized, by which the cities of Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia would have been equally threatened. According to Mr. Napier, there would not have been any insuperable difficulties to this plan. "The negroes," he says, "are patient of discipline, proud of being soldiers, quick to learn military movements, and brave; they would have been placed between the sea and the gallows,—strong stimulants to make men fight." But the plan was not then adopted, for (says Mr. Napier) two reasons were given as conclusive against it:—"First, that we should not know what to do with this army of blacks when the war was over, an objection much too foolish to require an answer; and secondly, that it would give a bad example to our slaves in the West Indies."

"Mr. Napier, with whom the plan is obviously in great favor, goes on to say,—'We shall probably some day have a war with America; and if the day dawns upon a *million* of black slaves there, woe to Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland! Either the justice of the British people, or the gallantry of the blacks themselves, will soon free England from the infamy of this accursed traffic; and, when we have no slaves ourselves, the British Government will think it very right to excite the American negroes to revolt. Slavery is to America what Ireland is to Great Britain,—her weak point; and the game which France may play against England, England will play against America."

The effect of slavery, in incapacitating certain States from doing their proper part for the "common defence," is not a new idea. The following is the testimony of the old Continental Congress, March 29, 1779.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Burke, Laurens, Armstrong, Wilson and Dyer, appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the southern states, and the ways and means for their safety and defence, report.

That the State of South Carolina as represented by the delegates of said state, and by Mr. Huger, who has come here by the request of the Governor of the said state, on purpose to explain the particular circumstances thereof, is unable to make any effectual efforts with militia, by reason of the great proportion of the citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and prevent the desertion of them to the enemy.

Says Jefferson, of slavery, in his notes on Virginia, "the State permitting one half of its citizens to trample on the rights of the other, *transforms them into enemies.*" Richard Henry Lee, in the Va. House of Burgesses, in 1785, declared that to those who held them, "*Slaves must be natural enemies.*"

In the first Congress under the constitution, Mr. Madison said, May 13, 1789, in a speech in favor of abolishing the slave trade, "I should venture to say it is as much for interest of Georgia and South Carolina as of any State in the Union. Every addition they receive to their number of slaves, tends to *weaken* them, and renders them less capable of self-defence. In case of hostilities with foreign nations they will be the means of inviting attack instead of repelling invasion."

The late Judge Tucker of Va. professor at law in the University of William and Mary, published a letter to a member of the Va. Legislature in 1801, in which he says, "The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentiment. At the first favorable moment it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the love of FREEDOM, they will have in EVERY NEGRO a *decided friend.*"—*Zion's Watchman.*

"The Colored American."

We could hardly wish for better proof that the hopes of abolitionists are about to be realized in regard to the elevation of our free colored population, than is furnished in the existence and success of "*The Colored American.*" It is and always has been, edited by colored men, and is now published by colored men, *from their own press.* A single extract from one of its editorials will make good our assertion and show that in the great object to which it is devoted it hits the nail exactly on the head. Such sterling common sense as the following cannot be wasted. It will do for the colored people what Franklin's Poor Richard did for our fathers and us. Could Franklin himself have written better? Go on, Colored American, and America will soon cease to be ashamed of thy color? The editor is discussing the importance of right and early training:—*Mass. Abolitionist.*

"The great reason why we remain so poor is, in our opinion, a want of proper *training* in childhood and youth.

The mass of us who are parents are seldom engaged the whole year round in the same occupation. We have one sort of labor for the spring, a second for the summer, and a third for the winter. And of course we select that one which pays best for the season. This mode of life, which is often a necessary one in order that we may obtain a livelihood, we are unfortunately too apt to teach our children. Its effect on ourselves is disastrous in producing an unsettledness of mind. Its effects on our children is worse, in preventing them from obtaining settled habits of industry.

A colored boy arrives at eight years of age—he is sent to school every day, except one or two in the week, when he stays at home 'to fetch water for his mother to wash with.' This is the first mode of learning boys to be irregular in employment. Instead of making him rise at six and render this service, his school hours are unwarrantably broken in upon.

He arrives at twelve or fourteen years and instead of apprenticing him to some handicraft or to farm labor, he is sent out to service—Why? Because *as a menial he can earn most money immediately.* This is a gross error in conduct. Perhaps he is sent to a trade; but in a week or two his parents take him away. Why? Because his master or a journeyman has struck him, (for impudence perhaps) or because they gave him some mental duty to perform, or because he did not receive a handsome suit of clothes, or because they gave him coarse food, or because some one in the shop called him nigger! It is melancholy to observe, how much colored parents value their children's appearance and feelings above their best and most permanent interests. If your boy be struck, let him be stricken; buffets and blows without cause and without number have been the share of the youngest apprentice from the days of Tubal Cain until now. Is he compelled to do drudgery? let him do it; those who are now millionaries have done the same, *and train their boys to do the same*—are your children better than theirs? Is he badly clothed?—let him go in rags and live on crust of bread and cold water, so long as he can learn a trade, which in manhood will support him well, and the better too, the more he has been obliged to suffer in the getting of it. But he is called a nigger? Horrible! Take him away from the trade—do not let him stay, no, not for the world; such an insult! What then? By a party of conduct you should not let him pass the street, nor be seen, but should pack the dear sensitive boy in a glass case covered with lead, and bury him in the depths of ocean, or in the marshes of Liberia, where that awful, soul-palsying, effort-benumbing phrase may never reach his ear!

In short, if we wish our children to grow up efficient, strong minded, money making and money saving men: if we wish them to obtain those rights which are withheld from us, and which can only be obtained by efforts springing from and persevered in by ourselves, then we must *train* them for the work. We must begin in their infancy, learn them to bear hardship and privation in boyhood, teach them that the great object of their life is to *work*, (with mind and body) not blindly for a large sum, but work intelligently with steadiness and constancy for some great although distant result. If they are to be students, see that they study with energy and perseverance, and with a constant view to the profession in which they are to engage.

If they are to have a trade, put them at trades, and keep them at the one trade which they have selected at first; listen to no complaints, be frighted at no labor, but keep them at it. Four, or five, or seven years, from fourteen years old, spent at one employment, is the best discipline the mind can receive. It forms the character—it makes boys men?

From the N. Y. Evangelist.

Colonization.

Mr. Editor—Will you allow me to state a few reasons why I cannot be a colonizationist? I will aim to do it in a candid, Christian manner.

1. I am opposed to colonization, in the first place, because the whole mass of free colored men in the land are opposed to it, and ever have been. There may be exceptions to this; but they are not more numerous than monarchists are in this republic. To take any measures to get them or their kindred out of the country, under such circumstances, would be doing as I should not like to be done unto. I should imitate the golden rule; and it is to me the greatest of mysteries that good men can see the matter in any other light.

2. I am opposed to colonization, because it can at most remove but very few colored persons, while it causes multitudes of slaveholders to look to it as a remedy for slavery, and to think of no *other* remedy. It operates like spurious religion in regard to salvation: men trust to it, look to no other, and perish at last. I have conversed with *pious* slaveholders, (for there are such, as there were *pious* slavetraders sixty years ago, and *pious* rum-sellers ten years since,) until I am fully persuaded that such is the general tendency of the scheme on their minds.—It lulls the Southern conscience to sleep—conscience, which is the *main* spring of all moral reformation.

3. I am opposed to colonization, on account of its effects on its advocates at the North. It seems to have made them the most hostile of all our citizens to every measure for the removal of slavery except their own. Show me the church or the place where most is done for colonization, and I will show you where most is done to cast reproach and ridicule on all who aim in other ways to rid our land of its *great* evil. I know this is done under the pretence of opposing fanaticism, Garrisonism, &c. But it does not stop here. It makes every man, and minister, and paper, as odious as possible, if opposed, however honestly, to their scheme. See how Dr. C., Dr. H., Dr. O. and others are treated for their conscientious opposition. See what a rod is here held over every minister who dares utter a *doubt* of its excellence.

4. I am opposed to colonization, because it treats slavery as a great misfortune rather than a fault, and thus unites men of all characters in its support; making an amalgam which cannot be used for any high and *holy* purpose. Look at the American Colonization Society, and see what a mixture of discordant materials. Here is a pious minister from the North, united with a slave owner, often a slave *father*, (to say nothing of a duglist and a gambler) of the South, devising measure how to send off a few free colored people to Africa in a manner which shall disturb no one's conscience, and for the present, certainly, injure no one's slave property. One of the party favors colonization because it removes a free negro, and makes his slaves more valuable; another, (its President for instance) looks upon it as a great discovery for the separation of the races; another, as a means of good to Africa. The first two classes seem to start the question as to the moral right of their condition; nor does the latter inquire whether his means are at all adapted to his proposed end. How can such base selfishness, such spurious patriotism, and such tortured benevolence, ever *unite* in accomplishing a great moral good anywhere? Not a syllable can be said by any of the compact as to the *wickedness* of slavery—this would be uncourteous. Is not an attempt to rid the nation of its deepest guilt, in this way like an attempt to raise men to heaven by smooth preaching, without repentance and renunciation of sin? It does not look to me like God's method of reform.

5. I am opposed to colonization, because it is taking from us a laboring population which we need, and opening the way for a worse one from Europe. If our colored people at the South are industrious, moral, and pious, they are wanted where they are, both to labor and to improve others. If they are idle and vicious, we ought not to make Africa a Botany Bay and ruin them. What man in his senses would wish to take 1,000,000 of worthy colored men from the South, and have their places filled with 1,000,000 of ignorant Irish and German Catholics?—Surely I would not.

6. I am opposed to colonization, because it *prevents* us from using the best means for the improvement of Africa. Were there no such thing as colonization, we should have the confidence (now lost) of pious, intelligent colored men at the North, who would go forth as our missionaries to Africa, and plant the gospel at numerous points. Many would soon be educated for this purpose; and as they could reside there in health, would no doubt succeed as other missionaries do among the Flatheads, the Sandwich Islands, &c.—No *secular* colony is wanted; they seem always to awaken the hostility of the natives. Had it not been for secular, revengeful Dutch colonists, our mission in Southern Africa had not been broken up. If, then, we wish to Christianize Africa, let us give up our scheme of separating the race, let us regain the confidence of our pious colored citizens, educate them, and send them forth to their father land as honored heralds of the cross;—and when we get them there, let not their work be hindered by the presents of worldly, trafficking, shooting colonists. We shall then go to work in a gospel manner; our missionary societies will have a glorious field before them; missionaries of the right stamp will be ready; and benighted Africa will rejoice in the salvation of God.

I have now written, Mr. Editor, what I believe to be sober truth. I honestly feel that the good of our own country and of Africa, and of white and colored men, would be promoted by a total abandonment of colonization, and a resort to simple gospel principles and missionary efforts. Yet such is the state of things engendered by this strange scheme, linked in as it is with church and with state politics, with Southern trade, prejudice, &c. that were I to give my name with my sentiments, I should be well nigh ruined as a minister of the gospel. Such things ought not so to be, and God grant the time may come when the truth can be told even in relation to slavery, without proscription and loss of usefulness. W.

Protest.

We the undersigned, members and delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as a duty and therefore a right, hereby protest against the principle, assumed by a majority of persons representing said Society at its present meeting, that women have the right of originating, debating, and voting on questions which come before said Society, and are eligible to its various offices:—and we protest against the assumption of said principle for the following, among other reasons, viz:

1. Because it is contrary to the expectation, design, and spirit of the constitution of said Society, as clearly indicated by the proceedings of the framers of that instrument, at the commencement, in the progress, and at the completion of the work.

2. Because it is at variance with the construction of said instrument, as made known by the constant usage of the Society from its first to its present meeting.

3. Because it is repugnant to the wishes, the wisdom, or the moral sense of many of the early and present members of said Society from its first to its present meeting.

4. Because, though assumed by a majority of persons representing said Society in its present meeting, we believe it to be wide from the expression of the general sense of the abolitionists of this country of either sex, and, if not objected to in this formal manner, might seem to be the unqualified and unlimited sanction of the friends of the slave and the asserters of his rights.

5. Because it is rather the expression of local and sectarian feelings, of recent origin, than of those broad sentiments which existed among the friends of our great enterprise at its beginning, and which led to the framing of the Society on a foundation where all sects might stand and wield the potent weapon of our warfare against the oppression of our brethren.

6. Because in conformity with these broad sentiments, and in opposition to local and party peculiarity, the American Society, at its first meeting, so far from contemplating the principle which is now for the first time assumed by the aforesaid majority, recommended the organization of distinct societies of the female sex.

7. Because, how much and how conscientiously soever we might differ in respect to the abstract question of the rights of women and the propriety of their action in large deliberative bodies, yet waiving entirely any expression here of sentiment on this subject, we are persuaded that the principle which is at this meeting, for the first time, assumed as aforesaid, is well fitted to bring *unnecessary* reproach and embarrasment to the cause of the enslaved, inasmuch as that principle is at variance with the general usage and sentiment of this and all other nations, under whatever form of government, and of every age: and while we thus speak, we also declare, that if the assumption of the aforesaid principle was, in our belief, demanded by the great law of right, and by a Divine constitution, necessary to

rescue this nation from the great crime and curse of slavery, we would not hesitate to assume it in defiance of universal custom and sentiment, but would do so by openly and manfully changing either the constitution of our Society, or our organization itself.

In offering this protest, we refrain from expressing any opinion respecting the propriety of those, whose right to the contemplated membership was contested, voting on the question of said right, as was done in the present case, preferring to leave such proceeding to the obvious conclusion of common sense.

NEW-JERSEY.

Wm. R. Weeks, Thomas P. Hunt, *Newark;* Andrew M. Torbut, *Paterson.*

CONNECTICUT.

F. A. Perkins, *Norwich;* Geo. Hall, *Northfield;* H. G. Ludlow, C. P. Bush, Amos G. Beman, A. C. Lyon, *New Haven;* James Quinnard, *Norwalk;* Randolph Lindsley, Julius Pratt, *Meriden;* Lewis Beers, jr., *Stratford;* W. L. Wilson, *Middletown.*

NEW-YORK CITY.

G. R. Parbury, A. Libolt, La Roy Sunderland, James G. Birney, Roe Lockwood, W. S. Dorr, Joshua Bishop, Patrick Reason, Charles W. Denison, Hiram Barney, M. R. Berry, S. W. Benedict, John Jay, Thos. L. Jennings, Robert Aikman, jr., James Hildreth, Wm. W. Patton, Lyman W. Gilbert, Edward A. Lambert, N. E. Johnson, Albert O. Wilcox, Lewis Tappan, Thomas Downing, John W. Sleight, Robert Lord, Duncan Dunbar, Hezekiah D. Sharpe, Alfred Smith, Asa Parker, James Wallis, Darius E. Jones, Arthur Cox, Samuel D. Porchard, Henry H. Loomis, Geo. D. Little, Augs. J. Gillett, Anthony Lane, Wm. D. Coolidge, Geo. H. Williams, T. McNamee, Edward Corning, Henry C. Bowen, Geo. M. Tracy, O. W. Norton, Edwin Wilcox, Robert R. Kellogg, Charles Kellogg, Samuel Leeds, jr., George Storrs, Sumner Davidson, Elisha W. Chester, F. W. Graves.

MASSACHUSETTS.

J. E. Fuller, A. A. Phelps, Geo. Russell, Alanson St. Clair, *Boston;* Geo. Allen, *Shrewsbury;* D. W. Alcott, *Greenfield;* Joseph Hurlbert, *Curtisville;* O. Scott, *Lowell;* Samuel Osgood, *Springfield;* Phineas Crandall, *Fall River;* J. A. Cornell, T. E. Tarver, James Birney, jr., *Andover;* Sewall Harding, *Medway;* Daniel Wise, *Quincy;* Geo. B. Smith, Charles T. Torrey, *Salem;* D. Butler, *Dorchester;* Timothy Merritt, *Lynn;* Geo. Goodyear, *Ashburnham;* Israel Trask, *Beverly.*

NEW-YORK.

Abm. Requa, *Poughkeepsie;* Hiram H. Kellogg, *Clinton;* Amos Savage, Edward C. Pritchett, *Utica;* E. W. True, *Pittsford;* S. Stanley, *Auburn;* L. C. Lockwood, *N. Windsor;* J. R. Wilson, *Coldenham;* W. E. Whiting, *Brooklyn;* Nath. Colver, *Greenwich;* Fayette Shipherd, *Troy;* John Low, *Dutchess Co.*

VERMONT.

E. D. Barber, *Middlebury;* J. W. Hale, *Brandon.*

MAINE.

Ebenezer Dole, Eben. Dole, jr., Ichabod Codding, *Hallowell,* C. C. Cone, *Brunswick.*

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Jared Perkins, Silas Curtis, *Nashua,* W. H. Brewster, *Derry.*

MICHIGAN.

Warren Isham, *Detroit.*

PENNSYLVANIA.

Chas. W. Gardner, Henry Crew, Samuel D. Hastings, Geo. M. Alsop, *Philadelphia.*

ILLINOIS.

Geo. W. Gale, *Galesburg.*

RHODE ISLAND.

Hiram Brooks, John Waugh, *Providence.*

Egyptian Emancipation!

"Spirit of Freedom—on
On pause not in thy flight!"

Another mighty blow is about to be stricken in behalf of human liberty. Mahometan Egypt is about to abolish slavery! Mehemet Ali, the sagacious and far-sighted statesman, whose genius and enterprise have raised him prominently before the eyes of the world and whose ambition probably looks to the re-establishment of the ancient Arabian empire, and the making of himself the successor of the Caliphs of Bagdad, is about to emancipate the hereditary bondmen of Egypt,—and break up forever the slave markets of Cairo and Alexandria—where for two thousand years the lash has been plied, and the fetter rivetted,—where lust has purchased indulgence, and pride and luxury the love of power, and brutal avarice rioted unchecked upon the miserable slave!—The benevolent exertions of Dr. John Bowring, of England, have, no doubt, greatly contributed to this result. During the past year he has had several interviews with the Pasha on the subject of slavery.

From a late English paper.

"*Egypt.*—We have received the following from a correspondent at Cairo, dated the 26th ult.:—"The Pasha of Egypt has declared to Colonel Campbell his intention to *abolish slavery immediately in all the countries subject to his authority.*"

This declaration has given universal satisfaction to the Europeans in this city. The Pasha speaks with great exultation of the moral and political effects of his visit to Nubia and Abyssinia."

Would that our *christian* Clays and Van Burens could learn a lesson of humanity and justice from the *mussulman* Pasha.

Penn. Freeman.

Curious Historical Fact. The Emperor of Java never employs any but women in his embassies, and those are generally widows. The court of Java is persuaded, that women are better calculated than men for negociation, that they are more accustomed to dissimulation and constraint, that they have more address and assendency, and that they possess greater resources of a creative fancy, as well as fertility of expedients.

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: JUNE 8, 1839.

All men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity—namely the enjoyment of life and LIBERTY, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and obtaining happiness and safety.—CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA.

The Boston Courier.

This priceely paper has fallen into quite an undignified fret, at the hasty effusion of ours a week or two ago, on a communication in that paper touching the scene on board the steamer Massachusetts. Considering our *obscurity*, we are amused at the agitation of the highly distinguished and far celebrated editor. We hardly ever have seen so *noted* a periodical in such a fume at what we regarded as a very tame article, and of an utterly *unknown* paper. But unaccountabilities will happen.

Our little Herald has *ascended* into unwonted society. It has scared fortunately and proudly. It has attracted lofty notice. It has won the *presumptions* of the very editorial "property and standing." It has mounted within the sphere of Mr. Buckingham's *inferences.* He has condescended to *presume* concerning us. He infers our existence and our anti-slavery bent and propensity. He *presumes* the "Herald of Freedom" is the name of some anti-slavery paper. "Violent presumption!" The Courier is really growing presumptuous. Age is not apt to. It is cautious and wary and "afraid of that which is high." "Put where, or by whom published, is a matter not within our knowledge," says the editor.—Well here is a marvel—that we have touched the pride of the princely Buckingham and he knows not *who* or even *where* we are. With deference to the Courier's better *veracity* (he charges us with an "atrocious falsehood") we scruple his ignorance, in this behalf. We think liberally of his lack of anti-slavery information and intelligence, but we cannot credit him *to this extent.* He has to *infer* our existence and character, from an article in the Liberator. The article must have been *intrinsically interesting* to the Courier. There must have been something in it beyond our suspicion, thus to attract his attention, for our paper *he never heard of,* and he has not always had a very violent *passion for the Liberator.* He *has* heard of our paper, though.—He *must* have *heard* of it. If he have not he knows less of the important periodicals of the day, than becomes his years and standing. His *veracity* in theory is saved at the expense of his *intelligence.* We grant the Courier more ignorance of our paper and our enterprise, than he should be. We concede him a very fashionable extent of ignorance of the great anti-slavery movement, which will forever distinguish this age. But he cannot be so barbarian as not to have heard of the Herald of Freedom. His disclaimer is sheer aristocratical, citified affectation, and he will allow us to say that if it were real and true, it would be no credit to him with much of the taste and talent of his city. For however cloomily our sheet is *now* edited, it is not obscure, by reason of its eminent, commanding, and all absorbing subject, and by reason of the genius and ability of its former, lamented conductor. Lacking, to be sure, the pith and grace of the Courier, it is still read far beyond the range of that vehicle of dubious morality, political partyism and "Geoponics." Its circulation is wider far than that of the broad sheeted Courier. It goes where that able print has never been heard of,—where its existence is not even *presumed,* where it is not matter of *inference.* No disparagement to the Courier. That paper is a *local* concern, and it is a *temporary* thing, in its *character* as well as its *purposes.* It may be an important establishment to the city—it *must* be a *lucrative* one. But it interests nobody beyond the pale of its partisan neighborhood. It will soon perish, with its frail conductor, who with really superior abilities and occasional gleams of humanity and conscience, yet makes no impression on the age and will leave none behind him. The Boston Courier will yield Mr. Buckingham a fat *living,* but no *memory.*—While the Herald of Freedom, affording scanty bread, is a fact for history, and will be seen hereafter a (lesser) star amid a glorious constellation in the sky of liberty.

The Courier quotes from the Liberator. It *recognizes* the existence of that paper. It "*tacitly*" admits knowledge of its *editor* and its *place* of publication. Pray how long has this been so? How long since Mr. Buckingham became aware of the Liberator beyond *inference* and *presumption?* Does he know of any other anti-slavery print? Ignorance of anti-slavery principles and measures is a good deal fashionable. Pro-slavery beasts of it. "Gallison Gallison," said an *informed* gentleman, "who is Gallison?" It has been vulgar to know the *name* of the editor of the Liberator. "Who is Nathan Dane?" said General Hayne at the time of his *extinction* by Daniel Webster. "Bad taste," said Mr. Webster. But let all this pass.

We are sorry the Courier has lost temper on our account. He attributes our article to *personal* malignity towards him. But nothing is further from us. We felt mortified and indignant at the contemptible communication in his paper. We were not surprised that he published it. His general conduct in regard to the anti-slavery question, so far as we have observed it, would lead us to expect it. He has been quite frank, we admit, to give place to anti-slavery discussion in his columns—but still he has been constantly sneering at our cause whenever he had opportunity—except perhaps on the *eve of 4th District elections.* Then he has been respectful—"perfectly respectful,"—as he now is to Mr. Garrison. We were mortified at the communication—ashamed that there was such a vulgar spirit in the city, as the writer, (whoever he is) and indignant at the base transaction it detailed and sanctioned. And now as to the *merits* of Mr. Buckingham's complaint—did he not "tacitly endorse" that communication? not the accuracy of its statements, (as the Courier *curiously has it*) but the transaction itself, the cruel, dastardly, ungenerous treatment of those unoffending and most worthy women, and the gaggery resorted to to prevent the effect of Mr. Garrison's appeal to the passengers. The statements are accurate enough, no doubt;—too accurate. Did the ingenious Courier suppose we doubted them? We think not. But did he not endorse and sanction the whole affair, by the very publication? It was an anonymous communication. It was published without comment. Mr. B. is apt to comment, is he not? We thought he adopted and approved the whole. We think his readers all thought so. He countenanced the communication. He ought to have condemned it, with the severity he has often bestowed on less infamous perpetrations. We call on him now to condemn it, if in truth he did not *mean* to indorse it. Not to undeceive us—that he would scorn to do. We are obscure, unknown—but to undeceive the great body of his readers and to undeceive the great body of his readers and to give the influence of his paper against such inhospitable and base proceedings on board our public conveyances. Let Mr. Buckingham come generously out now and specifically denounce the conduct of that captain Kid of the steamer and that Athertonian prohibition of free speech and that disgusted and *disgusting* vote against the right of *free sleep.* The Courier charges us with "atrocious falsehood" in saying he *indorsed* the communication *tacitly.* But he did publish it. That is, *prima facie,* approval under the circumstances. The burden is on him now to deny it and we will make all due reparation for our unintentional disturbance of Mr. Buckingham's tranquility.

The charge of *Bedlamitism* we credit to the fact of *sudden* and *high excitement.* We have been before charged with "insanity." We cannot *profitably* deny the charge. We of course should ourselves doubt it. But this, insanity always does. We beg leave, however, to plead, like Hamlet, a *qualified madness*—a *north northwest* mania—with a *competency mentis,* that could tell "hawk and *handsaw*" apart. We forgive the Courier the charge. Our article was more *cantharidian* than we apprehended. Mr. B. is not accustomed to blistering.—He has been more in the habit of laying on the *flies,* than wearing them. Hence he is a *sensitive* patient. He is no bedlamite—but "of sound and disposing mind." His being "an *anti-slavery man,* and *no abolitionist,* proves this. Hatred of slavery and desire of its overthow, are *quite two things,* and no doubt, in acute minds, the distinction is not without a difference. We do not fully apprehend it however.

The Courier has "perfect respect for the editor of the Liberator." In that we fully accord with Mr. Buckingham. He dexterously follows up his compliment to Mr. Garrison with a gentle hint that he might, if he were inclined to, *just disclaim* our *unfortunate article.* We are jealous the Liberator will let the article go, and leave the Courier to *infer* its "tacit endorsement" of it, for all it is worth, from the fact of naked publication.

But we take leave of the Courier's complaint—and to convince the able editor we feel no "malignity" towards him, and to save him the trouble of having to *presume* and *infer* our editorial existence, we cheerfully prefer him an exchange of papers.

O'Connell.

To the following extract from the letter of a New-York correspondent of the Boston Atlas we subjoin a few notes.

"O'Connell it is presumed is now in the market.(1) Notwithstanding the immense sums of which he has plundered the Irish poor by penny contributions, (2) he is yet without fortune (3) and has several destitute sons that need a provision. Whether the Tory party or any other party will consider him worth buying, (4) by a permanent provision for himself and family, is problematical, and the penny business must have an end."

(1) O'Connell may be "in the market"—but there is no purchaser can bid his price. Tory party or Whig—all England united, cannot produce the sum that shall *fetch* the great Irishman. He will go unbought. His price is like wisdom's. It is "above rubies."

(2) Plundered the poor, by *contributions.* This would be called a bull if it fell from a countryman of O'Connell. "The great agitator" is rich in the hearts of Irishmen—of the poor Irishmen. The British Court need make no provision for him. There are widows in Ireland enough to endow him with their mites—not with "penny contributions," but those lesser but richer tributes, whereof it takes two to make a farthing. O'Connell is the poor man's friend and the poor woman's—in England as well as Ireland—and in America too—he is the *poor American's* friend and it is for this that the oppressor hates him and slanders him. He is the advocate of the American slave. The cause of the bondman is up before the world and O'Connell pleads it. And he will carry that cause. Slaveholding quails and shivers under his mighty argument. He is exasperating humanity against the tyrant claim of the slave-master. Plundering the Irish poor! It is a base slander. And who brings the charge? Our life upon it it is a slaveholder or his apologist—who wrings the life blood out from unrequited labor—who plunders humanity not of its "pennies," but its pounds and its all—its body and spirit, its sinews and heart strings.

(3) A single he is a *plunderer.* How has he squandered these "immense sums." It is a wholesale blundering calumny and tumbles itself headlong.

(4) If O'Connell could have been purchased he would been bought ere now. The offers of party and of power have been tried and exhausted to hush the voice of the chieftain. They "*did not begin*" to move him. Victoria's crown could not tempt him. Temptation has nothing to offer him. He stands now at the top and summit of human elevation. By force of integrity and talent alone he has raised himself to be the first man in the civilized world and he wields at this moment a power unknown to monarchies or despotism—the power to move and to sway the free hearts of christendom and for what bauble of party or of wealth should he forfeit this? There is not a post in the world's political promotions to which O'Connell must not descend to take it. He knows his standing. He feels it—he will not abandon it.

We are ashamed at our country's meanness towards Thompson and O'Connell. They were an overmatch for us in the power of truth—and we seek to assassinate their names. Vain attempt.—They are eagles and we cannot reach them in their pride of place.

We understand His Excellency Governor Pinney of Liberia, arrived in town with his suite Wednesday evening.

William Pinkney.

This celebrated lawyer and orator, it is well known, was a Marylander. He lived at a period when slavery had not done its perfect work on the heart and intellect of the country. On some public occasion he uttered these prophetic and ominous words: "For me, sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses, is more clear than that this system of bondage will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of a republic."

What Wm. Pinkney here predicted has come to pass among us. That "one day" he foretold, has arrived. "Reverence for liberty" *is* unknown among the people of the land—the great mass of the people, including, at least, most of the high classes in the nation. Liberty has faded away in their minds into a lifeless abstraction. The republic has lost its "vital principle." Republicanism is dead. It has perished in the hot and Sirocco breath of slavery. We have to this fact, what Pinkney lacked in his sagacious visions of the future, "the evidence of our senses." Where among us do we discover any vestiges of vitality in this young republic, *that was,* and whose forms still stand before our eyes? Who among us *now* thinks that "reverence for liberty" or even a decent respect for it, or patient endurance of its appeals, is essential to republicanism? On whom, amidst your Congress full of patriots, has the free mantle of *Maryland* Pinkney fallen? In the whole South on no one. Thomas Morris of the Senate has been lashed by the cart whip of the "peculiar institution" into a sort of political slave insurrection—for Morris we believe is not yet a "technical abolitionist." Slade and Adams of the House have made some demonstrations for liberty. But Slade is strongly urged on by the Green Mountain democracy sequestered where it is in some of the verdant glens of Vermont, above slavery high water mark. Adams has been forced into a defence of the abstract right of petition by a press of personal circumstances—by personal experience of the daring insolence of the slave system, which is bold to light down on the *back* of *ex-presidency* itself if it come from a non-slave region. Slade is no "technical abolitionist" we understand, Vermonter though he be. And Adams had to mitigate his assertion of the old right of petition, by his preposterous salvo that he is against the immediate termination of slavery in the national district.

Clay asks the presidency, because he *reverences* SLAVERY—and not liberty. Van Buren *gets it again* because he has a deeper show of reverence than his southern rival. And in this theory the wily politician is no doubt in earnest. His awe and homage for slavery are no pretence. Whatever other *seeming* he may put on, there is no "*seems*" here.

And Webster sits mute and tongue-bound, while liberty is murdered and mangled around him. Loud as the tempest in defence of the "*colossal*" immaterialities of party, he is hush as fear—hush as death, while fair freedom is cloven down by assassins before his face. Slavery has breathed its death damp upon his mighty northern spirit. Oh they are all subdued and subjugated to the system.

Go to the stern old Bunker Hill city of Boston and see how little is left of the spirit of revolutionary independence there. How deserted is it of enthusiasm for liberty. That home of the old names of Otis and Adams—the Warrens, the Hancocks and the Quincys. The press, the pulpit, the bar, the noble art of healing—which once had its anti-slavery Rushes in the land—now all chop-fallen, dumb or insultingly vassal in spirit. Old Faneuil Hall echoes to no cry but the cry of good fat beef along the butchers' stalls of its basement and *foundation.* Boston goes to Faneuil Hall now to get something for *dinner,* instead of gathering there as of old to catch the inspirations of liberty.

The pride of the Boston bar—the Masons, the Fletchers, the Choates—as undisturbed as their cold dwellings at the loud cry of humanity. Deaf and insensible to the glorious movements for liberty as those rows of towering abodes that frown in iron trimmed brick and granite down upon the green and embowered common. The surgeon Warrens—with nothing anti-slavery remaining but the name—*stante "nominis umbra"*—aristocratic beyond the utmost reach of anti-slavery truth—so high up that the wail of the slave can never mount to their lofty hearing. The Blagdens, the Winslows, the Frothinghams and the Malcolms—cold, repulsive and gloomy, as their sombre Bowdoin street temples. The proud gates of their Park streets and their St. Pauls barred against anti-slavery as impassably as Beacon street etiquette bars the raggedest plebian from the threshold of its good society, or as the granite of State street bars the intruder from entering to meddle with the "treasures there hid up on earth." But humanity finds it an advocate in the obscure and narrow precincts of the Nassau Court and room for its convenings in the Chardon Street Chapel. Honored places. Your obscurity will one day be forgotten.

Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society.

This Society held their second annual meeting on the 15th and 16th of May, at Hartford; the president, JOHN T. NORTON, presiding. Committees were appointed to prepare a roll of members; to prepare and bring in business for the action of the meeting and to nominate a board of officers for the coming year. Reports were received from the Executive Committee and Treasurer, and read, approved and adopted. Sundry resolutions were introduced by the Business Committee, discussed and adopted. We select the following:—

Resolved, That the prejudice which so extensively exists in our country against the colored man, is not prejudice against *color,* but prejudice against a proscribed and degraded class; color being the index which points out that class.

Resolved, That the degradation and apathy among the people of color arises more from their peculiar connection with other men, than from any want of natural ability in themselves.

Resolved, That we regard the Christian minister as the Heaven commissioned advocate and the Church as the divinely appointed refuge of the enslaved; and while acting in their appropriate character are entitled to the confidence and support of the patriot, philanthropist and believer.

Resolved, That the Constitution and Statute Book of Connecticut, in confining the elective franchise to white persons, are guilty of making an unreasonable, unphilosophical and unchristian distinction.

Resolved, That it is the duty of abolitionists to exert their influence within the limits of their respective religious societies, to place the Connecticut anti-slavery society upon the footing of other benevolent societies, and to authorize congregational contributions in aid of its funds, in the same manner as such contributions are allowed for the furtherance of other objects of philanthropy.

A resolution was offered by a gentleman attending, proposing a modification of the measures of abolitionists, and that Congress be petitioned to grant a certain sum of money to the State which should first abolish slavery.

This produced an interesting discussion, manifesting the best feelings, but repelling the idea that slaveholders or slave States are entitled to compensation for doing an act of justice by restoring to the slave his inalienable rights of which he has been deprived by force and fraud for more than two centuries.

J. T. NORTON, Esq. of Farmington, *President.*
S. S. COWLES, of Hartford, *Secretary.*

For the Herald of Freedom.

Br. Rogers,—At the last annual meeting of the Strafford County Conference of Churches (Congregational Churches) held at Sandwich on the 19th, 20th and 21st inst. the following resolutions were introduced by the Committee on American Slavery, freely discussed, and, I think, passed unanimously:—

Resolved, That the cruel and wicked system of American slavery must fall before the advancing light of the gospel, as it mingles with, and kindles up the light of reason and the love of liberty.

Resolved, That slavery like other evils in the world is to be removed through the instrumentality of the church of Christ, and that in the abolition of slavery in the British West India Islands, and some of the South American Republics, divine Providence is calling loudly upon the church of Christ in America to free herself from all participation in this sin, and let her undivided influence be given to the cause of immediate emancipation.

Resolved, That the course of northern editors and lecturers that represent the friends of emancipation as fanatical and chimerical in their views is calculated to encourage the slaveholder in his sins, and to rivit more closely the fetters of slavery.

Permit me to add, sir, that the conference was unusually full, and composed of men who look closely at things, and act with deliberation.

AN EYE WITNESS FROM GRAFTON COUNTY.

May 22, 1839.

From the Liberator.

New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

This body commenced its sixth annual meeting on Tuesday. The minutes of its proceedings, up to Wednesday noon, will be found below. We have time and room only to say, before this paper goes to press, that more than 300 delegates are in attendance—that a delightful spirit prevails among them—and that the proceedings have thus far been of a very interesting and harmonious character. Great disappointment is felt on account of the absence of GERRIT SMITH, who, in a letter dated New York, May 25th, says: 'I had made up my mind to be at the Boston meeting next week. I now fear that I shall be disappointed. I am still confined to my bed by a surgical operation which has proved more serious than was anticipated.'

The harmony of the Convention is to be attributed to the fact, that those individuals who have been endeavouring, for some time past, to divide and distract us, have withdrawn for the purpose of forming a new organization, which shall exclude women and non-resistance! Particulars next week.

J.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Sixth New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled, pursuant to a call signed by the officers of the several State A. S. Societies in New England, at the Chardom Street Chapel, in Boston, on Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1839, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Convention was called to order by WENDELL PHILLIPS, chairman of the committee of arrangements.

On motion, NATAHNIEL B. BORDEN of Fall River, Mass. was appointed President pro tem and WM. BASSETT of Lyme, Secretary pro tem.

On motion,

Voted, That a committee of five be apointed to nominate the permanent officers and committees of the Convention.

The following persons were chocen said Committee. Samuel J. May, Amos Farnsworth, N. P. Rogers, H. G. Chapman, George W. Benson.

WENDELL PHILLIPS submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That all persons present, favorable to the cause of immediate emancipation be invited to take seats with us as members of this Convention.

AMOS A. PHELPS offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That, as gentleman only were enrolled and acted as members of the first and second New England Anti-Slavery Convention—that as, at the second Convention it was unanimosly resolved, that a Convention of the friends of immediate abolition be held in New England annually until slavery be abolished,' and the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society were made a standing Committee to call, and fix on the time and place of said Convention—that as the third New England Convention, called by virtue of this arrangment, was the *first* of the series of said Annual Conventions, so resolved to be held—therefore, it was but just and right to regard the basis of organization and action adopted by that Convention as *the* basis upon which it was intended these Conventions should ever be conducted;—and as that basis extended membership and action as members, to men only, and the same is true also to every preceding and succeeding Convention, with the exception of the last, that therefore the form of invitation to membership and action in this Conventon, shall be the same with that

adopted by said third Convention in 1836, and re-adopted by the next following Convention in 1837, in the following words, viz: 'That all gentlemen present, who wish to take part in this Convention, and who are friends of the abolition of slavery in our country, be invited to become members.'

Mr. Phelps offered the following resolution without any remarks, and expressed the hope that the question would be taken without discussion. It was so taken, and the substitute rejected; after which the resolution offered by Mr. Phillips was adopted by a large majority.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Dennis.

The committee on nominations made the following report, and the persons were duly elected officers of the convention:

NATHANIEL B. BORDEN, President.

Vice Presidents.

SETH SPRAGUE, of Massachusetts. SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Maine. John A. RICHARDSON, of New-Hampshire. Wm. COE, of Connecticut. MARTIN CHENEY, of Rhode Islahd.

Secretaries—Wm. Basset, Wm. M. Chase, Wm. R. Chapman.

Committee on Finance and the Roll—Henry G. Chapman, John A. Collins, John Jones.

Business Committee—N. P. Rogers, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman, Amos A. Phelps, Wendall Phillips, Lydia Maria Child, Isaac Winslow, George Trask, Charles C. Burleigh, George Bradburn, Thos. Davis, Geo. W. Benson.

On motion of Oliver Johnson,

Voted, That all resolutions offered to the convention shall pass through the business committee.

The committee on Finance introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That each member of the convention be requested to pay one dollar or more towards defraying its expenses.

The following resolution was presented by the business committee:

Resolved, that mutual forbearance and respect for each other's individual freedom of opinion, are peculiarly incumbent upon us at this time; and that, without any concession of principle, we will cordially and earnestly labor together for the good of the slave.

The above resolution elicited a spirited and interesting debate, in which Samuel J. May, Samuel Fessenden, John Le Bosquet, T. P. Ryder, S. Brimblecom, Sylvanus Cobb, Sumner Lincoln, Arnold Buffum, — Adams, H. C. Wright, George Bradburn, and W. L. Garrison, participated; after which it was unanimously adopted.

Pending the discussion on the foregoing resolution, on motion of Wm. Loyd Garrison,

Voted, That no speaker occupy more than ten minutes at any one time, nor speak more than once upon the same question until all others who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Adjourned to meet this afternoon at 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION,—3 o'CLOCK P.M.

Met according to adjournment.

P.R. Russell offered prayer.

The business committee offered two resolutions relating to the conduct of professing christians and churches, the first of which, after some discussion, was recommitted; and the second, after having elicited a spirited debate, in which Messrs. Brimblecom, Himes, Hilton, Avery, Garrison, Johnson and others participated, and after the adoption of several amendments, was unanimously passed as follows:

Resolved, That, eschewing all theological or metaphysical subtilties, and being guided by the words of our Lord, 'Ye shall know them by their fruits,' this convention affirms, that no slaveholder, no defender or apologist of slavery, or any well informed person living in indifference to the slave's claim to freedom, under the light of the Scriptures and the maxims of a republican government, can possess that temper of mind which was in Christ Jesus; and therefore, that no church, composed of such members, or sanctioning such practices, can consistently be termed a church of Christ.

The business committee presented a resolution relative to the duty of petitioning for the repeal of laws based on distinctions of color, but before any action was taken upon it, the convention adjourned till half past 7 o'clock in the evening.

EVENING SESSION.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

The resolution offered by the business committee before the adjournment in the afternoon, was taken up and discussed by Messrs. Sprague, Avery, Stacy, Benson, Burrows, Burleigh and others; and after having been amended, was adopted as follows:

Resolved, That petitions be sent to the legislatures of the New-England States, earnestly recommending the repeal of all laws making any difference of rights or privileges on account of complexion; and believe that all true abolitionists, who petition on any subject, will sign such petitions.

The business committee introduced two resolutions on the subject of new organizations of professed abolitionists in rivalry of the societies already in existence, which gave the subject of discussion by Geo. W. Benson, C. C. Burleigh, H. C. Wright, S. Brimblecom, and J. V. Himes, for the remainder of the evening.

Adjournment to meet to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 10 o'clock.

The Convention assembled according to adjournment.

Prayer was offered by Samuel J. May.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison read a letter from Gerrit Smith, giving reasons for his absence from the Convention.

On account of the absence of the reporter, the election of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the resolutions under consideration at the time of adjournment last evening, in reference to new organizations, were laid on the table.

The business committee introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted without debate:

Mr. Phelps subsequently gave notice that he was a member of the Convention, and therefore could act on the committee.

Resolved, That the governors and legislatures of the N. E. States be requested to remonstrate with the governors and legislatures of the slave states, concerning their constant encroachments by statute and by violence on the rights of northern citizens with a dark complexion, or with *clean* consciences on the subject of slavery.

The business committee introduced the following resolution, which, after remarks by N. P. Rogers, A. Buffum, W. Phillips, G. Bradburn, Seth Sprague, C. C. Burleigh, G. W. F. Mellen, H. C. Wright, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, was indefinitely postponed.

Resolved, That it is advisable to petition Congress, for the immediate emancipation of all mulattoes, quadroons, and others of a mixed race, within their jurisdiction, who are held as slaves; because the framers of the constitution declared that instrument to be formed 'to promote justice, and to secure to themselves and their *posterity* the blessings of liberty.'

The business committe presented the following resolution, which after remarks in its support by Messrs. Fessenden and Jackson of Maine, Coe of Connecticut, Cheney of Rhode Island, and Rogers of New Hampshire, was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we have full confidence in the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and fully approve of the measures which they have pursued to promote the good cause of abolition; and that we rejoice that they have been able to redeem their pledge to the American Anti-Slavery Society, notwithstanding all the difficulties they have had to contend with.

The business committee introduced the following resolution, which, after remarks by S. Fessenden and W. L. Garrison, was unanimously adopted.

Whereas, members of Congress from Southern States have asserted that great numbers of Africans are imported into this country and deprived of their rights, contrary to the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States—therefore

Resolved, That it be recommended to all citizens of the United States to unite in petitioning Congress for an immediate investigation of the subject.

On motion of J. A. Collins,

Voted, that the resolutions relating to new organizations be recommitted to the business committee, and that their report be made the order of the day for this afternoon.

On motion of Oliver Johnson,

Voted, That the convention will take measures to raise funds to defray the expenses of reporting and publishing its proceedings.

The business committee introduced the following resolution, which, after remarks by Arnold Buffum, was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the very common remark of the apologists for slavery, that 'the slaves fare better than the free colored people of the non-slaveholding states,' is as wide from truth as darkness is from light; and is a remark which no intelligent and reflecting mind can make in sincerity.

Adjourned to meet at Marlborough Chapel at 3 o'clock, P. M.

The State Society Anniversary

Commenced most auspiciously. The South Church was amply filled and with an attendance of the most intelligent and noble character. The house remained thronged during the day. The morning was occupied, after organization, appointment of committees &c. by our champion friend from Pennsylvania, Charles C. Burleigh, THE SCOURGE OF COLONIZATION—one of the most able and intrepid men in the anti-slavery field. He spoke to a resolution asserting the advance of the enterprise, without going back at all, or pausing or faltering from the beginning, and its promise of speedy and peaceful triumph. He was followed by Rev. David Root with his accustomed force and originality.

In the afternoon Mr. Garrison addressed the meeting on the same resolution. It was his first appearance on the New-Hampshire platform and it attracted the deep interest, which ought to be felt by the abolitionists and by the people of New-Hampshire, on seeing for the first time among them the man who awakened the land from the death torpor of slavery. Mr. G. is a plain speaker, without any of the graces or the *exercises* of the orator. "He was no orator," he said, "as Brutus was; *or as Burleigh is.*" Yet his speech moves men's hearts and minds more than any we have listened to, not excepting Thompson himself. He feels a deeper interest in the cause he advocates, no doubt, than any who have come after him into the field. He changes men's opinions, and influences their character. He is a very *earnest* speaker and speaks to excite men to action. He lectured Thursday evening at the Baptist meeting house. The house was thronged though Governor Pinney was laying before the sympathies of the people, at the South Church, at the same time, the longings of the free colored man of the country for banishment on the sands of Africa. His Excellency had not, we understand, a crowded auditory. We would not go to hear the advocate of so wicked a cause—but still we like to have the cause advocated by addresses, lectures, &c., if it must be at all. It is better so than by mobs as heretofore. A very liberal contribution followed Mr. Garrison's lecture. He was followed by Burleigh in an argument against the duty of restoring fugitive slaves. Garrison touched upon the subject in his lecture. Burleigh seemed to take fire at it and burst forth upon the auditory like electricity. He maintained for about 20 or 30 minutes a rapid and most vivacious argument—close, lucid, conclusive and of exceeding ingenuity. The audience sat with perfect composure until long time after the usual *Concord* hour of adjournment. Many members of the Legislature were present.

Connecticut.—Connecticut owes nobody, and has $21,000 in her coffers, besides a school fund of $2,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of 104,000. The state paupers cost $1,700 a year for their maintenance, but the State prison earns a nett sum of $3,000 or over.

Gov. Arthur of Upper Canada, has granted an unconditional pardon to fortytwo *Patriot* convicts taken with arms in their hands in the British dominions.

Tennessee planters are turning their attention vigorously to the culture of tobacco, cotton and rice.—*Tennessee Paper.*

The people of Tennessee would act wisely in excluding tobacco from their products; for it will certainly ruin any country that produces it. It has already ruined large districts of Maryland and Virginia, and will confer the same *blessing* on Ohio, where its culture is extended. No crop so thoroughly exausts the soil, and none could be more useless, even if it did not.

We were not a little amused by the account of a friend who lately travelled in Virginia, concerning the evil which the culture of tobacco had produced in that State. After travelling over an extensive tract of country on the James River, completely exausted by tobacco, he stopped for the night at a tavern where his horses were furnished with excellent hay, *brought from Maine!!* He could not refrain from some reflection upon the benefits produced by tobacco crops, which would convert one of the finest agricultural countries in the world into a desert, and compel its inhabitants to import their hay; to transport it in ships from Maine to Richmond, and then in boats for 120 miles farther up the James River.

Whoever will travel through Maryland, will find almost one half of the State in the same condition, from tobacco crops. With such facts, we may cease to wonder at the diminished wheat crops of these two States. —*Philadelphia World.*

Stealing!—"Two men have been imprisoned at Houston, Texas, for negro stealing." So says the newspapers. Stealing men is bad business. We hope the time will come when it will *indeed* be treated as a criminal offence at Texas, and throughout the whole south.

The fact that negroes are frequently stolen from their pretended owners, is a fact, by the way, that puts beyond cavil the question of the colored man's *security* and *protection?* He is not at liberty to resist *any white man?* Whoever pleases may steal him, and cary him whither he pleases. He is allowed to have no more *will* than a horse! He can bear no testimony. He can prefer no complaint. He cannot lift a finger but upon pain of death, by the statute! No wonder men thieves steal from one another, when there is so little to prevent it.

The Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, now in use among the Jews, is nearly seventy feet in length, and about two feet in width, written on parchment, attached to rollers at the ends, to roll and unroll without friction. Thus a copy has been preserved from 1000 to 1500 years.

Texas.—Latest dates from Texas state that the commissioners have located the seat of Government on the Colerado river, at a point called Waterloo, thirty miles above Brastrop, and ten miles below the mountains. The situation is said to be very fine, in a healthy, fertile region of the country, and near the centre of the large grant made by the Mexican government to Stephen F. Austin. The name of the place is to be changed to Austin, which the capital of Texas will hereafter bear in honor of its illustrious founder.—*Me Farmer.*

Profitable business.—The tolls collected on the New York State Canals, during the first *seven* days in May amounted to the trifling sum of $75,000!

A correspondent of Porter's Spirit of the Times, says that there is a Postmaster in Arkansas who cannot read, and when the mail comes he is under the necessity of *measuring* it, and sends about three pecks to Little Rock (the capital) two pecks to Batesville, and dwindles down to a gallon when he comes to the out counties.

Those who are complaining of our cold country, and are boasting of the great advantages the West have over us in this particular, may read the following from the Philadelphia News.

"The early fruit on the Ohio river for forty miles below Wheeling has been cut off by the frost.

The Crops.—It is with much pleasure that we anounce the fact, that thus far the winter crops have a most promising appearance in this neighborhood; many of our farmers think they never looked better.—[Harrisburgh Chronicle.

Railroad from Boston to Albany.—At a meeting of the citizens of Albany, last Monday, it was voted by a majority of 2,617 to adopt the law of the recent session of the Legislature, authorizing that city to subscribe $400,000 to the Albany and Stocbridge Railroad. This railroad is but an extension of the Western Railroad from the line of Massachusetts to Albany.

St. Louis. There are no less than 100 new edifices going up in that city, and all it is said will be rented before they are finished.

Sabbath Travelling.—The Legislature of Michigan have passed a law prohibiting under severe penalties, the runing of any car or other vehicle, on any public road on Sunday, unless in cases of emergency, which must be certified to some public officer.

An assault was made a few evenings since, upon Wm. Alpin, Esq of Providence, President of the Rhode Island Temperance Society, by two ruffians, who attempted to put him in a bag.—He had been threatened with violence during the day, by a rumseller. The city authorities have offered $500 reward for the detection of the ruffians.

A mother, at a recent fire in Philadelphia, discovered at a late hour that one of her children was still in his chamber. She rushed to the room and seized the child but could not return! in this extremity she leaped from the window with the child in her arms, without material injury to herself or child.

There are one hundred and fifty blacklegs in Tallahassee, and they early engaged for themselves the best apartments in the city. The Speaker of the House of Representatives went to the residence of a citizen one night, and begged the privilege of lying on the floor before the fire.

Union of Church and State. Married on the 29th ult in Union, Ohio, by Rev J. Beach, H. B Church, and Miss Amelia State, both of Union!

There is in Duxbury, Mass. an apple tree, noted for its age, size and fruitfulness. It is upwards of a hundred years old, is forty feet in height, and its circumference, eight inches from the ground, is sixteen feet, its fruit, in one year, has made 10 barrels of cider, besides 30 bushels for the cellar.

Betting.—Betting on elections has been prohibited in Illinois, by a law imposing a penalty not exceeding $1,000, and imprisonment not longer than thirty days. It makes our heart leap with joy to hear intelligence of this kind.

The Albany theatre is about to be converted in to an Episcopalian Church

It is stated that of 490 paupers, who were supported by the city of Portland last year, 466 had been or were intemperate.

There was killed in Brentwood about week since by Mr Charles Smith, a monster of the Cat kind, measuring upwards of four feet in length. Mr Smith has killed several of the same species within a year, and seems determined to exterminate wild cats.—*News Letter.*

You can go by steam from Providence to New York for $1; and from New York to Albany, (150 miles) for fifty cents.

HYMENEAL.

Married in Thornton, 2d inst. by Rev. P. Chamberlain of Campton, Mr. Henry Plummer to Miss Elizabeth Ann Tucker. Mr. Thomas Calden to Miss Sarah Ann Bagley. Mr. Robert O. Dickey to Miss Martha F. Perkins, all of T.

From the Emancipator.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held at Chatham Street Chapel, May 9th, 1839.

Francis Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair, and William Bassett was appointed Secretary. The Board then proceeded to the election of an Executive Committee for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were duly elected, viz:

Arthur Tappan,	James G. Birney,
John Rankin,	S. E. Cornish,
Lewis Tappan,	Duncan Dunbar,
S. S. Jocelyn,	La Roy Sunderland,
Joshua Leavitt,	H. B. Stanton,
Theodore S. Wright,	James S. Gibbons.

Attest, WM. BASSETT, *Sec'y.*

W. L. CHAPLIN, WM. GOODELL,	Utica.
JOSHUA LEAVITT, H. B. STANTON,	New-York.
GUIDON GRANT.	Troy.
N. SAFFORD, A. G. ALDEN, HIRAM FANNING, NATHAN COLBURN	Albany.

From the Emancipator.

Call for the National Convention.

At the last anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it was voted to hold a National Convention at Albany on the 31st day of July next. The undersigned were appointed a Committee to issue a CALL and make the necessary arrangements for the proposed Convention.

In executing the wishes of the Society, they accordingly most cordially invite all such FREEMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AS ADOPT THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to meet in Convention at Albany on the last Wednesday of July next, in the 4th Presbyterian meeting house, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The object of the Convention is the thorough discussion of those great principles which lie at the foundation of the abolition enterprise throughout the civilized world; and of the measures which are suited to its accomplishment in the United States, and especially those which relate to the proper exercise of the right of suffrage by citizens of the free States. All questions and matters foreign to this object will be cautiously avoided in the deliberations of the occasion.

☞The Agent of the Young Men's A. S. Society acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, paid to him for the use of the Society.

From anti-slavery friends in Orford,	$1 46
From a few individuals at Campton,	9 00
Collection at Meredith Village, (Fast day)	8 63
Individuals at Batchelder's Mills,	5 25
A friend at Sanbornton,	31
M. H. Morey, Franklin,	5 00
Three individuals at Andover,	1 00
Collection at New-London,	5 35
Collection at Henniker	6 00
From the Friends, at Weare,	22 00
Collected at Deerfield,	4 00
Great Falls Anti-Slavery Society	20 00
Mary B. Moses, a little girl ten years old, collected in a charity box bearing this inscription—"*Remember them in bonds,*"	87
Collection at Chester,	15 22
Dartmouth College Anti Slavery Society,	37 00

The following sums have been pledged to be paid before our annual meeting.

At Meredith Bridge, $5,00—at Hill, $10 00—at Henniker, $12,00. I. N. HOBART.

FAIR FOR THE BENEFIT OF SEAMEN.

A FAIR for the above object will be holden by the Ladies of "The Seaman's Friend Society," at the GRE IAN HALL of the Eagle Coffee House, on THURSDAY, the 13th inst.

A large variety of useful and Fancy articles will be offered for sale, suitable for Ladies, Gentlemen and Childrens' wear and for presents, at fixed and reasonable prices.

Refreshments will be provided, and the Hall decorated for the occasion. There will also probably be music from the Concord Band, or a portion of them at intervals of the Fair.

Concord, June 7, 1839.

NOTICE.

The Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal churches in this State will be holden at Claremont on Wednesday, June 26th inst.

THE YOUTH'S CABINET.

A WEEKLY PAPER,

Containing a great variety of choice reading for youth, is published every Thursday, at No. 9 Spruce Street, New York, and No. 25 Cornhill, Boston. It is devoted to Liberty, Peace, Temperance, and Religious, Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Education. All letters relating to the paper should be directed to N. Southard.

Terms. $1 per annum, in advance.

10 copies to one address,	$8,	or 80 cts each,
20 " " "	$14,	or 70 " "
30 " " "	$18,	or 60 " "

These terms are offered to those only who send the money with the order. Superintendents and teachers of Sabbath or Common Schools may enable their scholars and friends to obtain a large amount of pleasing and useful reading *very cheap*, by forwarding their money and receiving their papers.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

It is a cabinet of many valuable treasures, which are admirably calculated to enrich the youthful mind. We hope it will be extensively patronized.—*Sabbath School Adv.*

We consider it worthy of the patronage of Christian parents.—*Eastern Baptist.*

Its editor, by his uncommon tact, industry, correct taste, and thorough-going principles, is admirably qualified to conduct such a paper,—a paper which is much needed, and cannot fail to be highly beneficial.—*Liberator.*

It will be found interesting to youth, and should be patronized by the friends of moral reformation.—*N. E. Spectator.*

Among the numerous new periodicals starting up in these times, no one has fallen upon our table which we can more heartily recommend to the place designed for it to occupy, than this.—*N. Telegraph.*

These parents and guardians who wish to be aided in their attempts to educate and govern the children committed to their charge, should by all means patronize this paper. It comes at only one dollar per year, and more interesting and profitable reading for young people could not be obtained in any other way.—*Zion's Watchman.*

The above are only a few of the many favorable notices received.

Many eminent ministers and teachers have used stronger language, and very flattering testimonials might be given from parents in whose families the paper has been received.

HANOVER, N. H. June 1, 1839.

T. MANN

HAS recently added somewhat extensively to his assortment of

Books:

Blank Books, Stationery and Fancy Articles, including the best *Penknives, Scissors and Razors*, and is now receiving more than 1200 *rolls of Room and Entry Paper*, embracing a variety of high cost *Parlor Paper and Chimney Pieces*, so that all, it is believed, who wish to revivify their domicils, may be suited with any number of rolls of some quality and corresponding price.

JOB PRINTING in general, executed as usual, with accuracy and in good style.

ORDERS through the mail will be attended to promptly.

Mrs. E. S. Mann

IS doing an enlarged business in the MILLENARY DEPARTMENT this season, and offers for sale various descriptions of fashionable BONNETS and of the best styles, and as beautiful and extensive assortment of Bonnet and Cap Ribbons, &c. &c. as can be found in the neighborhood. 3w*

Greely & Morrill,

DEALERS IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN

SADDLERY,

LIKEWISE Manufacturers and Dealers in *HARNESSES, TRUNKS, VALISES, and CARPET BAGS*, of which they keep constantly on hand an extensive assortment, ready opposite Gass' American Hotel, at the sign of the Horse.

Concord, May 25, 1839. 3wis4m

Bonnets,

AT THE GREAT 8

SOME of the FINEST and best STYLES of BONNETS that have ever been offered in this Market may be found at ESTABROOK'S, ☞Directly in front of the State House.

April 20. tf

TRUNKS! TRUNKS!!

NOW Manufacturing, a New and Superior article of *TRAVELING TRUNKS*,

At the Sign of the Horse.

GREELY & MORRILL.

Concord, May 25, 1839. 3wis4m

Just Published,

THE Life of WM. M. RICHARDSON, L L. D. Late Chief Justice of the Superior Court in New-Hampshire. A neatly executed duodecimo of 99 pages. For sale by BOYD & WHITE, At the Concord & Brattleboro' Bookstore.

Ladies' Kid Slippers.

A FULL assortment of Ladies' French Kid SLIPPERS and SLIPPER TIES, of a superior quality, this day received and for sale by JAMES PEVERLY.

May 18, 1839. 6w

SADDLES.

JUST received, a lot of Men's Riding Saddles, which will be sold very low for cash,

At the Sign of the Horse.

GREELY & MORRILL.

Concord, May 25, 1839. 3wis4m

POETRY.

From the Advocate of Freedom.

The Slave.

For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor. —*Bible.*

Negro! what clanking sound
Of measured stroke is that which rends the air
As over God's free ground
Thou laborest thy weary form to bear?

What means that downward gaze—
That sunken check of thine, and pain-wrought brow?
It surely cannot be that all thy days
Are days of grief, as now:
And that to-morrow
Shall bring no calm, *no solace* for thy sorrow.

But why those rusty chains?
Hast thou with murderous heart defied
The laws of God and man, and shed
The blood of Innocence, which to Heaven hath cried
Aloud for vengeance on thy impious head,
And on thy soul eternal pains?

Hast thou in evil hour
Sundered thy claim on human life, and given
Thyself a victim to the power
Of unrelenting Justice, that e'en Heaven
May not be moved to mercy? Negro! say,
What is the cause of this thy infamy?

Hush! Hark! that broken voice bears not the tone
Nor speaks the language of a guilty soul—
It tells of cruel wrong and outrage done,
Which in a sea of agony shall roll
Back on the oppressor, like the deadly flood
That mocking stands where guilty Sodom stood.

It tells of homes destroyed—
Of tender hearts with hopeless anguish wrung,
Of joys untasted, and of songs unsung—
It tells of hopes once bright, but now made void;
Of crushed affections and of weeping mothers,
It tells of fathers, sisters, lovers, brothers
From kind embraces fiercely torn away,
To change those ties of Love for chains of Slavery.

It tells of ceaseless toil—
The bloody throng—and more than all beside,
While doubly doomed to till *another's* soil,
It mourns the bread of life to slaves denied,
To give them which the son of God hath died!

Oh cursed thirst for gold!
That sordid love of gain should force base man
To sell his brother's soul, and madly hold
In iron bonds the groaning African.

Christian! awake, and pause—
And daily as thine eyes are raised to Heaven,
Hope not thy sins confessed will be forgiven
Till thou hast *wrestled* in the Negro's cause.

Thus on the last great Day,
The Judge of all shall turn to thee and say—
As for the LEAST of these, so thou for ME
Didst break the galling chains of Slavery. S.

Marshall, Illinois, Feb. 3.

MISCELLANY.

From the Portsmouth Journal.

Thoughts on Peace.--No. 7.

How many have been slaughtered upon the sunny fields of Spain, how often have the streets of her cities run with human blood! Ever since we can recollect any thing, have come to us the stories of her bitter wrongs, and her fierce contentions. Our sympathies are worn out for her. Murder there is a thing of course—war seems to be woven into the very texture of the nation.

How perfectly the condition of Spain refutes the position, that one sword keeps another in the scabbard; that being prepared and ready for war is the best means for the preservation of peace; that the people who would preserve their liberty should be ready to fight for it.

Will you look to Great Britain, overwhelmed with an immense debt, with more than fifty abject poor to one rich man, will you read the bills of mortality and learn that the rise of a few shillings on a quarter of wheat has ever been the death warrant of thousands, so near to starvation are her poor laborers; will you examine the ship loads of her subjects that come here that they may not perish there, and then encourage a military spirit in these free States? Know you not that from *glory and military honor* spring directly the misery and degradation of the people! Whose bodies are these which fill the ditch?—The laborer's. Whose comforts are reduced by heavy taxation?—The laborer's. Who gives up their all for their country's rights?—The laborer. What creates an aristocracy—what tends to an unequal distribution of wealth?—A military spirit.

Will you look upon the doings in South America; there has been continued fighting there. Have the people achieved their liberty,—are human rights secured,—is human happiness safe?

Americans, your independence was not achieved by the sword. It was not your valor that has secured to you your political institutions. The South Americans have fought more than you have fought, yet have not overcome their tyrants. They have been no cowards; no craven love of life has kept them from the battle. Then, brute-force,—the courage to fight,—the fortitude to endure, never yet in themselves gave freedom, happiness and prosperity to our people.

If we are free, if human rights with us be secure, if equal laws—if sound democracy here prevails where the lowest and humblest man is safe—is protected, you owe it not to your valor or to your wars. It is on the strength and purity of moral sentiment that you depend. It is on the religious principle, the love to God and to man, that has been your dependance. As high as you may rise in true nobleness of soul, in true dignity of character, so high will be your political principles—so high will be the value of citizenship in these States.

It is health of body—physical strength, that enables man to endure the hardship of the tented field. It is the good condition of the animal that enables him to fight. We need mere machines for the ranks of the army. To obey is the only duty. Forward is the command. Sufficient intellect to load and fire a musket is all that is wanted; the number killed is the test of merit. A well trained horse is often more valuable in a battle than a score of men with souls!

ELLIOTT.

David Lee Child on Political Action.

The proposition in relation to political action, which has been laid down by some of the most able and effective agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is, that it is the duty of every member of that society, or of any society auxiliary thereto, to go to the polls at political elections, and give his vote in favor of the slave; and that failing to do so, he cannot consistently remain in the society, but ought to resign his membership. I am aware that some of those agents have denied that they put forth any such interpretation of the political obligations of abolitionists; but they at the same time asserted that if they entertained views adverse to voting, *they* should feel it a duty to withdraw from the anti-slavery association. It seems to me of immense importance to our cause, that this subject should be examined with calmness and candor, and settled with great deliberation.

It is not strange that differences should arise in the interpretation of a new instrument, framed for an object new to the country, and for an association of men embracing all religious creeds, and opposite political parties. The constitution of the U. S. has been in operation fifty years, and yet questions are arising every year, which, in the absence of a tribunal capable of deciding authoritatively in the last resort, would produce dissensions, and perhaps civil war. In our own body, considerable difference of opinion has existed, and probably still exists, as to the construction of that instrument on subjects of vital importance.

Can it be that it was the intention of those who framed the constitution of this society, or united themselves with it, or with its auxiliaries, to exclude all who would not consent to *influence* Congress in a *particular mode?* There are various specific ways of influencing Congress—by directing petitions, memorials, and remonstrances to the two houses; by private correspondence with the members; and by personal intercourse with them. And there is a general mode of influencing them, by merely avowing anti-slavery sentiments, and being counted among that increasing number, which will sooner or later, (if not hindered by doubtful disputations) give law to the northern representation on the floor of Congress. It does appear to me that a member may adopt any one of those specific methods, to the neglect or exclusion of all the rest; or that he may adopt them all; or that he may adopt none of them, and yet be a consistent and valuable member of the abolition brotherhood. Suppose, instead of staying in Massachusetts to vote, I should prefer going to Kentucky, for the purpose of demonstrating to Mr. Clay the fallacy, inhumanity, inconsistency, and tergiversation of his late speech? Will any gentleman tell me that it was my duty to stay at home and vote? and that in leaving the State at such a time, I violated the solemn obligation by which I was bound to the cause of the slave? No man will say this. If I may, in the exercise of my own judgment, innocently absent myself at one time, and for one cause, I may do the same at another, and for a different cause. Some people abstain from voting, from a general disgust at the notorious corruption and violence of political parties, and because they expect little or no good to the cause of liberty from either; others, because they dislike all the candidates; others, because they disapprove of universal suffrage, and want faith in popular elections, or the capacity of a numerical majority to govern. *These are large classes.* Is it impossible that any of them can be constitutional members of this society? Did any one, even those who set up this *strict* construction, (or rather *latitudinarian* construction—for it prescribes modes which the constitution does not name) did any, I say, ever dream that a Quaker, or a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, was excluded? I believe the society of Friends very seldom exercise the elective franchise, or accept an office; and the Reformed Presbyterians entertain conscientious scruples about going to the polls.—Would friends of the slave wish to exclude either of these ancient and efficient bodies of laborers in the cause of human freedom? It would be suicidal and absurd. Yet how can their admission be reconciled with the rigid rule now insisted on?

It may be useful to look at analagous cases, which may arise under other clauses of our constitution; because these may be examined with a coolness and clear-sightedness scarcely to be expected on the point directly involved in the present controversy. The constitution declares that this society 'will aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their moral, intellectual and religious improvement.' Would it not be equally arrogant and dangerous for any sect to prescribe their particular *mode* of faith, as indispensable for the 'religious improvement' of the people of color? Such a pretension would obviously be fatal to this society. Suppose it should be maintained that attendance on *public worship* was the mode of 'religious improvement' prescribed by the constitution? Some of our brethren think they could better promote the object by giving their colored friends private instruction in letters, morals, and religion on the Sabbath, than by encouraging their attendance on public worship, where they would be pushed into the Liberia provided for them in most Protestant churches. Would such brethren be liable to the charge of violating the constitution? Probably every member would answer in the negative. If, then, the constitution does not require us to encourage the attendance of colored people upon public worship, as an indispensable mode of *religious* improvement, how can it be pretended that it requires attendance on public elections, as an indispensable mode of *political* action?

Whatever inferences ingenious minds, bent upon a favorite object, and excited by opposition, may now deduce from a critical analysis of the constitution,—it is self-evident that in the general and honest intent and meaning of those who framed it, or those who assented to it, no person—of any party or of no party, of any sect or of no sect,—was to be excluded from the society, provided he wished well to the slave, and was willing to labor in any righteous way for his emancipation. No test of moral, religious, or political qualifications was established. The anti-slavery platform was intended to be broad enough for Quakers, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Jews or Infidels; for whigs or democrats, aristocrats or radicals, peace men or war men. Nothing can be more certain than the failure of our enterprise, if this original platform be narrowed.

Let us apply the reasoning of those who insist on the constitutional necessity of a particular mode of political action, to another clause of the constitution, relating to a point more vital than the depositing of a ballot. The 3d article declares that the society 'will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.' This must mean either that we believe it *morally wrong* for the oppressed thus to vindicate their rights; or that we consider it *inexpedient* to do so, because they have small chance of success; or that we are *bound by the constitution of the U. S.* to discountenance insurrections. If the last were the construction intended, it would have been natural enough to have stated that we felt under solemn obligations not to violate the compact entered into by our fathers, and that we would strictly observe it, until a change was effected in the constitution of the U. S. If the second construction were the one intended, it seems to me to partake of a cold and non-committal character; at least those who vindicate wars for freedom would not be likely thus to pledge themselves to discountenance the Greeks and the Poles in any attempt at rebellion, though their prospects might seem to us unpromising. Besides, in case of a foreign war, our slaves might have very great chance of success; and then the construction founded on expediency would fail us. The example of our fathers, the rewards bestowed on the survivors of them, the declaration of independence, the favorite and most familiar maxims of this republic, all inculcate resistance to tyranny, not only as justifiable, but as a positive *duty*. For myself, I have never been able to conceive of any principle on which slaves can be discountenanced in resorting to physical force, except that of total abstinence from all violence. Surely, none but non-resisting peace men could consistently, or honestly, deny the privilege of fighting to those men who of all others have most provocation to fight.—Every one of those imaginary and extreme cases adduced as Achillean arguments against the non-resisting peace men, do actually exist in the case of the slaves. They *do* 'see their wives, daughters, sisters and mothers, set upon by the most brutal, without any effort on their part to defend them; and even the women themselves are forbidden to use for the protection of their purity such powers as God has endowed them with.' This is literally the case of the slave, and it is quoted from a semi-official definition of non-resistance doctrines in the Emancipator of May 2d. I submit whether here are not materials for showing that non-resistance is incorporated in our society, more ample than have been, or can be, found to prove that it was intended for political electioneering.

It is probably a simple truth, that some who formed the constitution, and very many who have assented to it, understood the 3d article to imply that a resort to physical force was *morally wrong*. On this principle, they might with much plausibility, argue that the executive committee ought to send agents to those slaves who have joined the Florida Indians, to dissuade them from any longer vindicating their rights, and avenging their wrongs, with knives and rifles.—The conclusion that non-resistance principles are embodied in our societary compact appears to me to result, both directly and indirectly, from the same reason that would push us to the polls at political elections.

A few words as to the *effect*, thus far, of the species of political actions contended for. It was a favorite idea with me, from the beginning of our righteous agitation, that abolitionists should be *felt* by politicians and political parties, without being *heard*: now, they have been *heard*, without being *felt*.—As a body, abolitionists are intelligent and conscientious. They could not, therefore, fail to carry their free principles, their sense of justice, their indignation against hypocrisy, and wrong, and their tender sympathy for the poor slave, into that act by which they could bear most directly upon the condition and prospects of innocent and oppressed millions of their countrymen. Those who had no conscientious scruples against voting, if they were hearty in the anti-slavery cause, needed no drumming up to the polls; and if they were not hearty, no extra exertions could be relied on to detach them from either of the great parties. The distinct efforts made for this purpose, in several states, have had the *appearance* of turning our quarterly meetings into caucuses, and our executive committees into managers of elections. We have lost character and strength, both in the eyes of the North and South. Our cause is founded on principles that commend themselves to the moral sense even of slaveholders and slave breeders; therefore, it seemed very natural to them that it should be strong, and its adherents numerous. Their excited consciences magnified our numbers; and we derived no small benefit and aid from the agitation which their fears occasioned. Our numbers, though absolutely great, are comparatively small. Brought separately along side the great political parties, they must as yet, and probably for a long time to come, appear insignificant. It is not material whether we set up candidates of our own, (a policy which all have condemned) or whether we vote 'scattering.' The latter course has produced the same result as would have been produced by the first; that is, *we have got ourselves prematurely counted.* Heretofore, we have been thought stronger than we were; now we are deemed weaker than we are. Formerly, our numbers were, in some measure, estimated by the goodness of our cause; now, the strength and prospects of our cause are estimated by the comparative insignificance of our numbers. One adversary exults that it has lost its 'sacredness;' another, that we are at length divided among ourselves; another that it has established our identity with a losing political party; and the worst of these things is that they are founded on fact. I feel confident that our efforts are less formidable to slaveholders than they appeared two years ago. If it had not been for organized political action, I am persuaded Dr. Channing would never have spoken of our progress and our prospects, as he has in his late pamphlet on the speech of Mr. Clay. I do not mean that their views, or his, are correct; or that his publication can have much tendency to make them so. But it certainly creates a new obstacle in our way, which we have to overcome, before we can recover the advantage-ground we have lost. I believe our cause is so deeply fixed in the affections of good men, and so sure of the blessing of God, that the gates of hell will not prevail against it. Yet there are methods of advancing and methods of retarding it. If we sincerely mean what we profess, it is a duty diligently to seek and embrace the one, and eschew the other.

Above all things, it is incumbent upon us to avoid strife. We must be mutually willing to acknowledge error; mutually careful to remember how much an excited state of feeling magnifies difficulties, even in the minds of the most honest and well-intentioned; mutually resolved to discuss unavoidable differences of opinion with perfect candor, and christian kindness; mutually determined to think more of the slave than of ourselves; and for *his* sake be willing to sacrifice every thing, except conscientious convictions of duty. Thus only can we expect united efforts, crowned by the blessings of Heaven.

Yours, for the enslaved,
D. L. CHILD.

New-York Anniversaries.

MARINE BIBLE SOCIETY.

The Anniversary of this society was held in Broadway Tabernacle, Sabbath evening, May 5, the President, Capt. E. Richardson, in the Chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. H. Chase, of the Mariner's Church, N. Y. The annual report was read by Rev. T. T. Harris, Corresponding Secretary; from which it appears that the Society has been in operation twenty-three years, during which it has circulated sixteen thousand and forty-eight copies of the word of God; of which 9,946 were Bibles, and 6,102 Testaments. During the past year, they have distributed 850 Bibles and 954 Testaments, in ten different languages. Yet, this is but a meagre supply for the 70,000 seamen who visit this port, from 7 to 10,000 of whom are always in port.

The receipts of the past year have been $1,130, $650 of which has been paid to the agent. Mr. Hubbard, $300 to the American Bible Society, and the balance for printing and contingencies. An agent has been employed for several years, in visiting the sailors at their boarding-houses and on the docks. He induces many to buy the scriptures, and to others they are given away.

American Seaman's Friend Society.

The anniversary of this Society was held in Broadway Tabernacle, Monday evening May 6—the President, A. Van Sinderin, in the chair. The house was overflowing, and the addresses were of a high order. But, having given a sketch of the meeting on Sabbath evening, our limits will not admit of a full report of this meeting; it being on the same general subject.

American Tract Society.

Prayer by Rev. Dr. Cuyler, Philadelphia. Addresses by Rev. Dr. Knox, of Reform'd Dutch Church, N. Y. city; Rev. Wm. Suddards, Prot. Epis. Ch. Phila; Rev. R. S. Cook, Gen. Agent for Volume circulation: Rev. Dr. Tyng, Prot. Epis. Church Phila.; Rev. Dr. Anderson, Sec. Am. Board Com. For. Missions; Rev. Howard Malcom, late delegation to Eastern Missions; Rev. Geo. B. Whiting, missionary, from Jerusalem; Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, missionary, from Constantinople.

Rev. Dr. Cuyler pledged himself to raise $500, before April 15th, in part of $40,000 for foreign and pagan lands.

Three corresponding secretaries were elected; Rev. Wm. A. Hallock, to be devoted chiefly to the publishing and foreign departments; Rev. O. Eastman, to raising funds, and the pecuniary business correspondence; Rev. R. S. Cook, (late Gen. Agent for Volume circulation) to the circulation of volumes and other publications, and inciting to Christian effort, with the editing of the Tract Magazine.

Abstract of the 14th Annual Report.

The Report, noticing the death of Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Vice President, states, that he was one of four, who, as early as 1827 began the volume enterprise by contributing $200 each, to perpetuate Doddridge's Rise and Progress. He has been heard blessing God, with tears, that ever *his mother* put into his hands the Saint's Rest; and he directed the Corresponding Secretary, whenever funds were wanted to perpetuate such a work, to call upon him.

During the year, 33 new publications have been stereotyped, including the Memoir of Dr. Buchanan and other volumes; making the whole number of the Society's publications 954, of which 58 are volumes: besides which 672 (including 50 volumes) have been approved for publication abroad. The Society have now purchased the right of publishing indefinitely all the copy-right works they have issued.

Of several Tracts, upward of 100,000 each have been printed during the year, and of one, 184,000; of Alleine's Alarm 16,000; Baxter's Call 20,000; and of twenty four other volumes, from 8,000 to 12,000 each. Total printed during the year, 356,000 volumes; 3,657,000 publications; 124,744,000 pages.

Circulated, during the year, 5,450 sets of the Evengelical Family Library, in fifteen volumes; total volumes, 299,166; publications, 4,099,170; pages, 119,733,356; making the total circulated since the formation of the Society, 1,153,390 volumes; 51,089,678 publications; 917,983,578 pages.

The number of volumes circulated exceeds that of any preceding year by 65,000; the number of pages that of any preceding year by more than 22,000,000.

The gratuitous distributions, in 422 distinct grants, including nearly 2,000,000 pages for foreign lands, amount to 8,257,266 pages.

Receipts, during the year, $131,295,40; which $55,852,81 were donations, including $28,100,62 for foreign distribution, and 3,461,06 for volume circulation. Of the donations, $8,000 are from the American Tract Society, Boston, for foreign distribution; 8,868,34 were received through the efforts of the ladies; about 6,000 were raised at the West, in connection with the efforts of Rev. William Clark, General Agent, and nearly $2,000 by Rev. John C. Smith in South Carolina and Georgia.

The receipts exceed those of the year ending April, 1837, which were more by $[illegible]000 than in any previous year; but the donations are $18,000 less than two years since, while the proceeds of sales are $10,000 greater.

American Bible Society.

Abstract of the twenty-third Annual Report.

The Report commences with an appropriate notice of the death of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer and John Bolton, Esq., two of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and of Samuel Boyd Esq., one of the managers.

New Auxiliaries.—In the course of the year 25 new auxiliaries have been formed, one of them in Wisconsin territory, one in that of Iowa, and one in Texas.

Receipts—The receipts of the year from all sources amount to $95,127, which is nearly $10,000 more than those of the year previous, but less by about one-third than the demands of the institution. Owing to the financial embarrassments of the country for the last two years, the stock of books in the depository has become low, while the calls from the field are far more numerous and interesting than in any former year. Application to the amount of $3,500 are now before the Board unanswered, at the end of the year, and new calls must soon be presented. Will not the friends of the Society begin at once to lend their aid?

Bibles and Testaments issued—The number of books issued is 134,937, making an aggregate since the formation of the Society of 2,488,235. The issues of the past year, including books imported, were in seventeen different languages. Many of the auxiliaries have ordered no books during the year past, or year previous. It is high time that such commenced anew the work of distribution.

A NEW STORE

HAS just been opened, ☞ *Opposite the Phenix Hotel,* ☜ where a splendid assortment of English, French, and German

FANCY GOODS

may be found, consisting in part of Head Bags, Purses, Cologne Water, Ruspin's Celebrated Curling Oil,—Rowland's Macassar, Beal's, Antique, and Buffalo OILS.

A splendid assortment of SHELL, Horn, and Ivory

Combs,

Pocket Knives, Pen Knives, Scissors, Silver, German Silver Pencil Cases, Silver Thimbles, Needles, of all kinds.

RAZORS, Razor Straps, Boxes,—SOAPS, of every description,—Shaving, Hair, Cloth, and Tooth BRUSHES—Travelling BASKETS—Gentlemen's and Ladies' WALLETS—PAINTS for Children, Pencil Brushes,—finally, *every kind* of Goods usually found in a Fancy Goods Store.

FASHIONABLE HAIR WORK,

FRIZETTS, PUFFS, CURLS, &c. &c. constantly on hand.

Ladies and Gentlemen, call and examine for yourselves,—and I think you will be satisfied as to price and *quality.* J. A. LEIGHTON.

Concord, April 27, 1839.

EDWARD BRACKETT

RESPECTFULLY informs his former customers and the public generally, that he still manufactures

Hair Work

of a superior quality. He hopes to give general satisfaction and to deserve a share of public patronage. He has on hand and offers for sale a splendid assortment, viz:

Gentlemen's WIGS, from five to ten dollars each
Gent's TOPPIECES, from two to five dollars
Ladies' French PUFFS, from 75 cents to $1
Ladies' Curl FRIZETTS, from 75 cents to $1
Ladies' Straight do. from 42 to 75 cents
Ladies' CURLS, from 42 cents to one dollar

Together with a splendid assortment of FANCY GOODS. For Sale Cheap.

N. B. All orders promptly attended to.

Concord, April 26, 1839. 4w

New Spring Goods.

THE SUBSCRIBER has just received, at No. 3, Williams' Block, a new and [illegible] assortment of SEASONABLE GOODS, many of which were bought at Auction and will be sold CHEAP.

All wishing to purchase are respectfully requested to call and examine for themselves.

M. CHAMBERLAIN.

Concord, April 6, 1839.

Notice.

WILL BE SOLD AT PUBLIC AUCTION on Saturday, the 22d day of June next, unless previously disposed of at private sale, the COPY RIGHT of the following Works—[illegible] of *American Definition Spelling Book*, for the United States; *Progressive Reader; Progressive Primer.* Also, STEREOTYPE PLATES of most of the above works. One-third right in *Writford's Chirography.* One share in Concord Organ. Wheel for horse power, and [illegible] &c. &c. Enquire of ALBE CADY, or H. HUTCHINS.

Concord, May 11, 1839.

New Arrivals!

RECEIVED this week at the great Cheap Cases of DRY GOODS.

Containing a splendid selection of the [illegible]

FASHIONABLE SPRING GOODS

which are offered to the public at reduced prices for the ready cash by

April 20. W. W. ESTABROOK, Agt.

THE HERALD OF FREEDOM

Is published every Saturday, at Concord, N. H.

TERMS.—One dollar and fifty cents per year if paid *in advance.* After six months, one dollar and seventy-five cents. To those who delay payment till the expiration of the year, two dollars. ☞ The postage of conveyance in all cases to be defrayed by the subscribers.

☞ All Letters on Business to be directed to CHASE & CROSBY, Concord, N. H.

Communications to be directed to N. P. Rogers, Concord, N. H.

☞ *The Postage must be paid, in all cases.*